# Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0572
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY ROME
USCINCEUR
AMCONSUL BORDEAUX

AMCONSUL LYON

AMCONSUL MARSEILLE

AMCONSUL NICE

AMCONSUL STRASBOURG

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CINCEUR FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: PINT, FR

SUBJECT: PARIS MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS -- FIRST ROUND

SUMMARY. IN THE FIRST ROUND PARIS MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS, THE UNITED LEFT FARED SOMEWHAT MORE POORLY THAN EXPECTED, RPR PRESIDENT JACQUES CHIRAC DID WELL, AND INDEPENDENT REPUBLICAN MICHEL D'ORNANO MAY STILL ENTERTAIN HOPES OF A DECENT SECOND-ROUND SCORE, THOUGH HE "TOOK" ONLY ONE SECTOR OUT OF EIGHTEEN. IT IS STILL UNCERTAIN, HOWEVER, WHO WILL BE ELECTED MAYOR EVEN IF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF CHIRAC COUNCILLORS AFTER MARCH 20 SURPASSES THAT OF D'ORNANO. SOME OBSERVERS ARE ALREADY SAYING THAT THE "VICTORY" OF THE MAJORITY IN PARIS SHOWS WHAT CONFIDENTIAL

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THE MAJORITY CAN DO IF IT MOBILIZES OPINION BEFORE THE 1978 LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS, THOUGH A STRONG LEFT SHOWING NATIONWIDE BELIES THIS. END SUMMARY.

1. JACQUES CHIRAC: THE FORMER PRIME MINISTER IS SIT-TING PRETTY. NO MATTER HOW YOU TALLY THE SCORE, CHIRAC COMES OUT WITH A BARE MINIMUM OF 41 SURE WINNERS ON THE MARCH 20 SECOND ROUND AND, SHOULD HIS LISTS TAKE THE 8TH AND 12TH SECTORS, HE COULD GO AS HIGH AS 52 SEATS OUT OF 109 ON THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL. WHILE THIS IS STILL THREE SHORT OF HAVING AN ABSOLUTE MAJORITY OF 55, IT IS NEVERTHELESS CERTAIN THAT THE RPR/UDR WILL MAINTAIN ITS POSITION AS THE STRONGEST SINGLE PARTY IN THE TOWN HALL. OF PARTICULAR SATISFACTION TO CHIRAC MUST BE HIS PARTY'S SURPRISINGLY STRONG SHOWING IN THE 4TH AND 12TH SECTORS, ESPECIALLY THE LATTER WHERE INCUMBENT DE HAUTECLOCQUE SOUNDLY WHIPPED THE D'ORNANO CANDIDATE, STATE SECRETARY FOR CULTURE FRANCOISE GIROUD.

2. MICHEL D'ORNANO: THERE IS A POSSIBILITY THAT D'ORNANO COULD WIND UP WITH ONLY 11 SEATS ON THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL, AMONG WHICH EVEN HE HIMSELF WOULD NOT FIGURE. A MORE REALISTIC APPROACH HAS HIM WINNING IN THE 16TH SECTOR NEXT SUNDAY FOR A TOTAL OF 20, AND HE STANDS A REASONABLE CHANCE OF TAKING TWO MORE SECTORS FOR A TOTAL OF 30 (FIGURES FOR BOTH CHIRAC AND D'ORNANO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE SPLIT RPR/RI TICKET IN THE 5TH SECTOR, WITH 2 GOING TO EACH PARTY. FREDERIC-DUPONT, THE ONLY "MAJORITY-UNION" CANDIDATE IN PARIS, WON ON THE FIRST ROUND). THE BIGGEST SATISFACTION TO D'ORNANO, ASIDE FROM HIS OWN STRONG SHOWING IN THE 16TH SECTOR, IS IR SECRETARY GENERAL JACQUES DOMINATI'S LEAD IN THE 2ND. ON THE OTHER HAND GIROUD'S CRUSHING DEFEAT IN THE 13TH SECTOR IS PARTICULARLY GALLING.

3. THE UNITED LEFT: BEFORE THE FIRST ROUND THERE WAS CONFIDENTIAL

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TALK THAT THE LEFT STOOD AN OUTSIDE CHANCE OF CAPTUR-ING AS MANY AS FIVE SECTORS FROM THE MAJORITY. NOT ONLY COULD IT LOSE THE 16TH SECTOR, WHICH IT NOW HOLDS, TO D'ORNANO, BUT ITS CHANCES IN THE FIVE SECTORS UNDER QUESTION ARE ONLY FAIR TO POOR. THIS MAY BE DUE IN PART TO THE FAIRLY TEPID SUPPORT THAT THE TOP PS LEADERS LENT TO CERES CANDIDATE GEORGES SARRE, AND IN PART TO THE SLOW START THAT LEFT CANDIDATES SARRE AND FISZBIN (PC) GOT ON THE CAMPAIGN ROAD. BECAUSE OF VARIOUS FAC-TORS DISCUSSED BELOW, HOWEVER, A UNITED LEFT VICTORY (I.E. GETTING 57 OUT OF 109 SEATS FOR AN ABSOLUTE MAJOR-ITY) CANNOT BE ENTIRELY EXCLUDED. OVERALL THE LEFT DID BETTER THAN IN THE FIRST ROUND OF THE 1971 PARIS MUNI-CIPAL ELECTIONS, BUT SO SLIGHTLY THAT COMPARED TO ITS NATIONWIDE ADVANCE OF OVER 4 PERCENT, THE SITUATION IN PARIS IS CALLED "STAGNATING" FOR THEM.

4. THE ECOLOGISTS: THE "GREEN" VOTE TOOK 10.5 PERCENT OF THE VOTES CAST ON THE FIRST ROUND. IN SOME SECTORS

THEY TOOK AS MUCH AS 13 PERCENT, THEREBY PERMITTING THEM TO RUN ON THE SECOND ROUND. THE ECOLOGY CANDIDATES HAVE SWORN THEY WILL MAKE NO RECOMMENDA-

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TIONS AS TO HOW THOSE WHO VOTED FOR THEM ON THE FIRST ROUND SHOULD PLACE THEIR VOTES ON THE SECOND (IN SECTORS WHERE THEY GOT LESS THAN 12.5 PERCENT), BUT THE POSSIBILITY IS THAT MORE OF THESE VOTES WILL SWING LEFT THAN RIGHT. THUS IN EFFECT, WITH AS MANY AS THIRTY SEATS UNDER QUESTION, THE "GREEN" VOTE PLAYS A VITAL ROLE IN DETERMINING WHO WILL BE MAYOR OF PARIS. WITHIN THE MAJORITY ITSELF, SINCE D'ORNANO RAN A GREENER CAMPAIGN THAN CHIRAC, WE CAN EXPECT THAT HE WILL ATTRACT MORE ECOLOGY VOTES THAN CHIRAC CANDIDATES IN THE SECOND ROUND. IT IS FELT THAT IN MANY CASES THE "GREEN" VOTE REPRESENTS A PROTEST OF THOSE WHO DID NOT WANT TO VOTE LEFT BUT REFUSED TO VOTE MAJORITY.

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5. THE OTHERS: THE FAR LEFT DID NOT FARE WELL IN PARIS AS COMPARED TO THE REST OF FRANCE, WHERE ITS COMBINED STRENGTH ON THE FIRST ROUND IS SURPRISING. ON THE OTHER HAND, MICHEL JOBERT'S MOUVEMENT DES DEMOCRATES GOT JUST ENOUGH OF THE VOTES IN PARIS (BETWEEN 2 AND 4 PERCENT) TO GIVE IT A CERTAIN ARBITRATING POWER FOR THE SECOND ROUND (THOUGH A FAR CRY FROM THAT OF THE ECOLOGISTS). FINALLY, FAR RIGHT GROUPS SUCH AS THE FRONT NATIONAL AND THE ACTION ROYALISTE DID SO BADLY THEY HARDLY MERIT MENTION.

6. QUESTIONS: AT THIS STAGE, THERE ARE MAJOR QUESTIONS REMAINING. HOW LOYAL WILL THE RPR ELECTORATE BE IN VOTING FOR IR/CENTRIST CANDIDATES ON THE SECOND ROUND, AND VICE VERSA? BOTH CHIRAC AND D'ORNANO HAVE CALLED FOR MAJORITY DISCIPLINE, BUT IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER VOTERS, BRUISED BY A ROUGH CAMPAIGN BEFORE THE FIRST ROUND, WILL HEED THIS ADVICE. WILL ABSTENTIONS BE AS HIGH FOR THE SECOND ROUND WITHIN THE MAJORITY AS THEY FREQUENTLY ARE? HOW WILL MAJORITY COUNCILLORS VOTE FOR THE MAYOR ONCE THEY ARE ELECTED? WHAT WILL BE THE FATE OF GIROUD AND OTHER MINISTERS WHO LOSE? AND FINALLY, IF THE LEFT DOES FARE AS POORLY IN THE SECOND ROUND IN PARIS AS IS NOW EXPECTED, CAN THIS BE CONSIDERED AN INDICATION THAT THE LEFT HAS PEAKED OUT NATIONALLY? PROBABLY NOT (SEE BELOW).

7. CONCLUSIONS: THE COMMUNISTS CALLED IT RIGHT. TIME AND AGAIN PCF LEADERS WARNED THEIR PS PARTNERS THAT THE RPR/IR-CENTRIST STRIFE WHICH PRECEDED THE FIRST ROUND AND GREW INCREASINGLY BITTER AS MARCH 13TH APPROACHED WAS MERELY AN EXAMPLE OF "BLANC BONNET/BONNET BLANC" (TWO SIDES OF THE SAME COIN). THEY CLAIMED THAT THIS SEMBLANCE OF OFFERING A CHOICE TO MAJORITY VOTERS WOULD GALVANIZE THE MAJORITY AND GET OUT ITS VOTE. SUCH APPEARS TO BE THE CASE. IN ADDITION, CHIRAC IS CLAIMING CONFIDENTIAL

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THAT HE DESERVES THE CREDIT FOR THE STRONG MAJORITY SHOWING IN THE CAPITAL CITY, AND IN VIEW OF THE RPR SHOWING HE WOULD APPEAR TO BE CORRECT. SO HE IS IN A BETTER POSITION THAN EVER TO PUT HIMSELF FORTH AS THE SAFE-GUARDIAN OF THE MAJORITY. WHETHER OR NOT MAJORITY MOMENTUM IN PARIS WILL SPREAD THROUGHOUT FRANCE,

AND WHETHER IT WILL LAST UNTIL THE LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS, REMAINS TO BE SEEN. WHAT CAN BE SAID NOW IS THAT GISCARD, WHO HAS TAKEN A BEATING BY THE LEFT IN THE PROVINCES (SEPTEL), HAS ALSO SEEN PARIS, WHICH VOTED HIM A COMFORTABLE MAJORITY IN 1974 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, STOLEN FROM HIM BY THE RIGHT. IT IS PREMATURE TO JUMP TO THE CONCLUSION THAT A WEAKENED GISCARD WILL FEEL INCLINED TO CALL FOR EARLY LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS -- EVEN THOUGH RUMOR HAS IT THAT PRIME MINISTER BARRE IS LOOKING LESS ASKANCE ON THIS POSSIBILITY. THE RESULTS OF NEXT SUNDAY'S RUN-OFF WILL FURNISH HARDER EVIDENCE OF JUST HOW STRONG THE LEFT IS IN PARIS AND HOW FAR CHIRAC HAS EATEN INTO IR/CENTRIST HOPES.

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LEFT FARED SOMEWHAT MORE POORLY THAN EX

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